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ISLAMIC STUDIES IN INDIA

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# ISLAMIC STUDIES IN INDIA

BY

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## I. — GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

It is well known that in Islam and Islamic culture generally the acquisition of knowledge is considered an act of piety. The Muslim communities all over the world during the period of the rise of Islam greatly encouraged the acquisition of learning: طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة “The search after knowledge is obligatory on every Muslim and Muslima” was the *ḥadīth* inscribed on the Madrasa of Bukhārā built by Ulughbek, the grandson of Amir Timur, who ruled for 40 years, 1409-49 (1).

The impulse to seek knowledge and increase it is inspired by the Koran itself; and among the better known verses which seek to

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(1) BARTHOLD, *Musulman Culture*, 126-7. — For the *ḥadīth*, see R.A. NADWI, *Islāmī Niḡāmi Ta'lim*, (Azamgarh, 1938), 13.

emphasize this are 96, 1-5: 'اقرأ باسم ربك الذي خلق' خلق الإنسان من علق' : 1-5  
اقرأ وربك الأكرم، الذي علم بالقلم، علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم

“Read: In the name of thy Lord who createth,  
Createth man from a clot.

Read: and thy Lord is the most bounteous

Who teacheth *by the pen,*

Teacheth man that which he knew not”.

In the very first of the revealed verses of the Koran, the command begins “Read”. This implies a Writer and something written. Then it is clearly declared that the Writer is the Creator of the Universe, Who teaches man what he did not know. Thus intellectual allegiance is due not only to acquired learning but also to the Word of God — *مقول ومنقول*. The principle that *‘ilm* and *din* are very close together is mentioned constantly (1). In the *Minhāju’-ṭ-Ṭālibīn* the well-known Shāfi‘ī manual of *fiqh* it is stated “For verily the preoccupation with knowledge is among the most excellent forms of obedience (to God)” (2), and a number of verses of the Koran testify to the superiority of those who know over those who do not know. In the *Da‘ā’imu’l-Islām*, a fundamental work on Ismaili Law, a whole section is devoted to the excellence of knowledge and the incentives for its study (*Da‘ā’im* I, 97-102). It is the Imams who are the *ahl al-‘ilm* and the *ahl adh-dhikr*. Obedience to them is due because there is no equality between those who know and those who know not (3). Similarly, in the *Ma‘ālimu’-d-dīn fi’l-uṣūl*, an Ithnā ‘Asharī manual of jurisprudence, thirty-five pages are devoted to *‘ilm* and its *fadīla* (excellence), (4) and the number of prose works and collections of poetry in which the excellence of knowledge is discussed imme-

(1) R. A. NADWI, *op. cit.*, 9 sqq.

(2) NAWAWĪ, *Minhāj*, (Cairo, 1338), Opening lines.

(3) Koran, 39, 9.

(4) *Ma‘ālimu’-d-dīn fi’l-uṣūl*, by ḤASAN-I ‘ĀMILĪ, Tehran, 1212/1894.

A brief, but most authoritative manual of *uṣūl* by ‘Āmili who died in A.H. 1011.

diately after praise to God and His Prophet, is legion. The Prophet recommends the following four things: Listening to learned discourses; committing knowledge to memory; action in consonance with knowledge, and increasing knowledge and its publication (1).

As *'ilm* and *din* are closely associated, *'ilm* (knowledge) should be combined with *'amal* (action) (2). The *'Ulamā'* are the heirs of the Prophets: العلماء ورثة الأنبياء (3), but this is possible only if the following conditions are satisfied — (a) that right action is conjoined with true knowledge; (b) that the search after knowledge is not for base motives; and (c) that no worldly ambitions such as, position, power, wealth and renown are the ends of such knowledge. The traditionist Muslim relates a *hadīth* that “He who seeks knowledge for any reason other than in the way of God, shall find his abode in Hell” (4).

One recalls here the repeated assertion of the Sufis that love of God is its own end; and one of the greatest of them, Jalāluddīn Rūmī, expresses similar sentiments regarding the acquisition of knowledge. ولن يدرك العلم مؤثر هوى ولا راكن إلى دعة، ولا منصرف عن طلبه، ولا خائف على نفسه ولا مهتم لميشتيه، إلا أن يورث بالله ويورث دينه على دنياه، ويأخذ من كثر الحكمة الأموال العظيمة “None”, says he, “who prefers vain desire or is inclined to ease or turns back from his search or has fears for himself or feels anxiety about his means of livelihood will ever attain unto knowledge, unless he take refuge with God and prefer his spiritual affairs to his temporal and take from the treasure of Wisdom the great riches” (5). And his sentiments are echoed by Muṭahhar, “Learning only unveils herself to him who whole-heartedly gives himself up to her; who approaches her with an unclouded mind and clear insight ;

(1) *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, I, 97-98; 101.

(2) R.A. NADWI, *op. cit.*, 19-21.

(3) *Ibid.*, 15.

(4) *Ibid.*, 20.

(5) *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, Daftar III, Intr.

who seeks God's help and focusses an undivided attention upon her; who girds up his robe and who, albeit weary, out of sheer ardour, passes sleepless nights in pursuit of his goal, rising, by steady ascent, to its topmost height and not to him who seeks learning by aimless flights and thoughtless efforts or who, like a blind camel, gropes about in the dark" (1).

It is therefore clear that in Islam the acquisition of knowledge is an obligatory duty. Knowledge must however be conjoined to righteousness in conduct, and this necessarily implies that student and teacher must ever consider knowledge its own end and the acquisition of knowledge should not be for worldly objects.

Among modern Indian works on Islamic education three may be mentioned as of particular value. The first is *ہندوستان کی قدیم درس گاہیں* by Abū'l-Ḥasanāt Nadwī (Dāru'l-Muṣannifīn, Azamgarh, 1936); the second is *اسلامی نظام تعلیم* by Riyāsat 'Alī Nadwī (Azamgarh, 1938), and the last is *ہندوستان میں مسلمانوں کا نظام تعلیم و تربیت* by Manāzir Aḥsan Gīlānī (Vol. I, Nudwatu'l-Muṣannifīn, Delhi, 1363/1944; Volume II, no date, probably 1944-45, Delhi). I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to these pioneering efforts towards an exhaustive history of Islamic education in India.

## II. — MOSQUE AND MADRASA.

If *'ilm* and *dīn* are closely integrated, and if the *'ālim* must also be a *fāḍil*, that is possessor of *faḍl*, which in the modern world may not inappropriately be described as "character" in the English sense of the term, then it follows that mosque and *madrasa* must also be united by common bonds, and throughout the recorded history of Islam it will be found that it was the mosque where students flocked to hear great masters; it was the mosque to which the classical scholars repaired; it was the mosque which was the centre of lectures, instruction, and *imlā'* (dictation); and it was the mosque

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(1) A. MEZ, *Renaissance of Islam*, English trans. (Luzac, 1937), 171.

which was the miniature university in the towns and villages of medieval Islam (1).

In the course of time, the mosque became an educational centre in the natural process of evolution. Nothing seems more natural than to detain the *khaṭīb* or *imām* or a learned man in a mosque and ask him the true meaning of a verse of the Koran or even its correct reading. And the learned man, staff in hand, would explain standing in the *liwān* of a mosque or its *ṣaḥn*; and if perchance he was old, or the explanation long and full of learned disquisitions, he would sit down in the House of God near a pillar, and resting against it, begin his discourse. How realistic and natural this seems, and hardly needing a better explanation! The Koran and *ḥadīth* were expounded; the basis of *‘ilm* was firmly laid; and gaining knowledge was compared to the drinking of water as in Jewish lore. The teachers were called by a Hebraic name, *rabbāniyyūn*, and they *‘allama* (taught), *dhakkara* (repeated and reminded), and *faqqaha* (explained the reasoning, or perhaps, taught the sacred law to) the students.

When the sciences increased, and a complicated system of studies such as, the Koran, *ḥadīth*, *‘arabiyya* (grammar), *adab* (literature) and *fiqh* (law) became common, the instruction in a mosque was organized more adequately. The mosque remained the chief centre of instruction; students flocked in great numbers to the mosque and sat at the feet of renowned teachers; they travelled great distances to drink of the water of knowledge and to slake the thirst of learned curiosity.

One of the earliest of mosques, that of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, built in A.H. 21 at Fustāṭ, Cairo, was a centre of instruction for centuries. The greatest jurist of Islam, Imām al-Shāfi‘ī, taught there all his

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(1) A very good account of the mosque as a multi-purpose institution will be found in J. Pedersen's article on the «Mosque» in *EI* (first edition), iii. 315-389.

life during the III century A.H. and it is reported that the *aṣḥābu'l-'arabiyya* (teachers of grammar and *belles-lettres*) also used the mosque as a class-room.

The Azhar, universally recognized as the oldest of existing Universities, was established in 361/972, and it is said that 'Alī b. Nu'mān, the son of the illustrious author of the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* and founder of a renowned family of jurists, was the first to lecture there according to the Fatimid school of Shiite law. "We can therefore say definitely", with J. Pedersen, "that mosques were from the beginning through the centuries educational institutions, that learned men occasionally used to live in mosques and that under the Fatimids and probably much earlier, there were special houses for the learned teachers. The mosque therefore corresponded to church, town hall and school, and sometimes hostel. It was then a public place of assembly for the town. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw gives us a vivid picture of the 5000 persons that used to visit the mosque of 'Amr daily — " teachers, Koran-reciters, students, strangers, scribes who drew up bills of exchange and contracts (ed. Schefer, text, 50; trans. 148)" (1).

As instruction was given and received primarily in the mosque, morality or rather a religious bias on morality was a peculiar feature of ordinary instruction. The teacher was supposed to be *in loco parentis* (2); the characteristic of a good teacher was the great love and affection that he was to exhibit towards the student. And similarly the student in Muslim civilization shows the highest possible respect to the teacher. The qualities expected of a teacher were the fear of God, true piety and sobriety. Imām Mālik advising the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashid says that with knowledge he should also acquire sobriety, dignity and kindness because the Prophet said that the learned are the heirs of the prophets (3).

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(1) *EI*, iii, 352.

(2) *INT*, 81.

(3) *INT*, 83.

Meticulous observance of the commands of *shari'a* was necessary and prayers in particular were to be regularly offered. Good character and kindness of disposition were essential. And here we may observe that the medieval practice of harshness towards students, including corporal punishment, is disapproved in no uncertain terms by no less an authority than Ibn Khaldūn, who says that undue harshness towards pupils is very harmful for the character of small children, for, children will only resort to lies and dissimulation in order to avoid punishment. The only way to obtain cooperation from children of tender years is to show kindness and love. The nations which have adopted a harsh attitude towards their younger pupils have failed in their endeavour, and he gives as an example the instructions of the Caliph Rashīd to the mentor of his son Amīn: "Oh Aḥmar! the Prince of Believers has entrusted to your care the fruit of his heart and soul. He has permitted you to extend your hand over him (referring to corporal punishment as well); and he has rendered obedience to you obligatory on him. Remember always your great responsibility. Teach him the Koran, the best of poetry, and the traditions of the Prophet. Teach him to be sober, and not to laugh at times which are inappropriate for levity. There should not be a single moment when by your example you do not instruct him. Side by side, do not pain him lest his faculties be frozen and his mind atrophied. Nor should you be so indulgent as to allow him to be steeped in luxury and ease. As far as possible, teach him by sympathy and consideration, but this does not mean that you are not allowed to punish him" (1). The same is the attitude of Imām Ghazālī and it is adopted by Ibn Jumā'a in his *Tadhkiratu's-sāmi'* (2).

It is of the essence of Islamic education that the teacher should possess the finest moral attributes and teach by example rather than

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(1) Ibn Khaldūn, *faṣl* 33, cited in *INT*, 77-78.

(2) *Ibid.*, 79.



precept. In order to inculcate discipline and teach their students the importance of showing reverence to their teachers, the teachers should themselves show the highest form of respect to their own teachers. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa said: "Respect your turbans". The 'imāma as a headgear in this context may be compared to the University gown which distinguishes the academicians from the ordinary townfolk. So great is the dignity of the teacher and so high the respect due to him that it is the student who must go to the teacher, and not the teacher to the student (1). It is said that before Mālik, his teacher, Imām Abū Ḥanīfa behaved as a son would towards his father (2).

No teacher can continue to profess a science adequately unless he reads constantly and pursues the path of research and inquiry. Constant study on the part of the teacher is strongly recommended (3) and one is reminded of a modern author, Bruce Truscott, who says in his *Redbrick University*: "He who learns from one occupied in learning, drinks of a running stream. He who learns from one who has learned all he is to teach, drinks "the green mantle of the stagnant pool" (4).

As to purely human relations, if a student fell ill, it was the bounden duty of the teacher to visit him, and give him help and consolation (5). We now come to the duties of the student (6).

The student should avoid display and cultivate simplicity. The medieval conception of the wandering scholar was fully accepted by Islam. Ibn Khaldūn holds that knowledge can only be perfected by travel (7). Nadwī cites the cases of numerous persons and scholars

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(1) *INT*, 85.

(2) *INT*, 88.

(3) *INT*, 86.

(4) 3rd impression (1944), 115.

(5) *INT*, 93.

(6) *Ibid.*, 96 onwards.

(7) *Faṣl*, 33.

who went in search of learning or for collecting *ḥadīth* to other countries and suffered great privations. For instance, it is said of the savant Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī that he travelled continuously for 7 years, walking 1000 *farsakhs* (3000 miles). He walked from Bahrein to Egypt and went on to Ramla and Tartus, and thus he spent 20 years of his life in the pursuit of knowledge (1).

The most remarkable injunction however relates to the ideal of the ascetic life which is advocated and which reminds us of the concept of the *brahmachārī* in Hinduism and the scholar-monk of medieval Christianity. One reason for recommending continuous travel in search of knowledge is that the student becomes enured to hardship; the ties of home, family, relationship are broken; the mind is concentrated only on self-purification and study. "Knowledge" it was said, "never gives thee a part of its treasures, until it receives from thee the whole of thyself" (2). Contrary to the usual precepts recommending matrimony, Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī recommends that "the student should preferably remain a bachelor, in order that the cares and responsibilities of marital life may not keep him from the quest of perfection in studies"; and Imām Thawrī is very picturesque when he says "He who marries, sets sail on the high seas; and he who begets a child, bores a hole in his ship" (3).

The student should cultivate contentment and patience. In food, lodging and raiment, the utmost simplicity is recommended. Poverty and hunger are the jewels of the scholar and his true treasure. Imām Shāfi'ī says, for example, "No one can acquire perfect knowledge by thinking of his kingdom, or maintaining his wealth and position. But he who effaces himself, who eats the bread of simplicity and hunger, who performs service for his teacher, he alone will acquire knowledge". And another great master of the

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(1) *INT*, 98. Other examples will be found in the following pages.

(2) *INT*, 102.

(3) *INT*, 103.

law, Imām Mālik said: "Knowledge cannot be acquired unless you know the taste of hunger and poverty" (1).

Many are the stories related of the utter obedience due to the teacher. The Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd sent his son to Aṣma'ī the grammarian, to learn polite letters (*adab*). One day he saw Aṣma'ī washing his feet, as part of his ablutions, and the Prince pouring water. Hārūn was very disturbed, and told Aṣma'ī that as the Prince was his pupil, it was his duty to wash his master's feet. The Prince should have poured water with one hand and washed Aṣma'ī's feet with the other! Qāḍī ibn Jumā'a has laid down a number of rules for students, some of which are as follows:

1. The greatest reverence is due to the teacher.
2. The teacher should never be addressed by name, but as *Ustādh* or *Ḥaḍrat al-ustādh*, a common practice in India.
3. The teacher's particular standpoint in philosophy or theology should be grasped and adhered to.
4. In everyday life too, the teacher's habits should be copied.
5. The teacher's harshness should be overlooked and the student must ever be courteous to him.
6. The student should never leave the teacher's presence without permission.
7. All actions before the teacher should be respectful; familiarity should be avoided; unnecessary laughter, coughing, sneezing, cleaning the nose, all these should be avoided in his presence.
8. Even if the student is not convinced of the argument of a teacher, he should accept it! (2)

Some of these rules are harmless; but I cannot help thinking that the last rule bespeaks of an age of *taqlīd maḥḍ* which has brought such disastrous results in the ideology of Islamic nations, particularly in the fields of law, theology and philosophy.

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(1) *INT*, 104.

(2) *INT*, 116.

There are many other rules, but they need not detain us here.

Around the mosque, which we have seen was the chief educational centre, grew a number of other institutions, of which the *madrasa* was the most significant, and in the course of time supplanted the mosque in the field of education. Libraries are often mentioned as adjuncts to mosques, and the mosque-libraries of Istanbul contain today some of the noblest monuments of Islamic literature. Specialised institutions of study such as the *Baytu'l-Hikma* (Baghdad, A.H. 192-202) founded by Ma'mūn and the *Daru'l-Hikma* (Cairo, 395/1005) founded by al-Hākim bi'l-lāh are illustrations.

We now come to the *madrasa* proper. After the second century of the Hijra the impulse to acquire knowledge was so great, and the patronage to learning so widespread among men of wealth that the concept of the *madrasa* as an adjunct to the mosque came into being. The Sunnite *madrasa* was followed by its Shiite counterpart the *dāru'l-'ilm*. Pedersen describes at length the numerous *madrasas* that grew in the Muslim lands and the story of the growth of such institutions is a glorious chapter in the history of Islam.

The Nizāmiyyah of Baghdad, built by the Vizier Nizāmu'l-Mulk, was probably the most famous of all the Islamic *madrasas*, on account of the splendour of its endowments, the magnificence of its library, the excellence of its teachers and, finally, the stark tragedy of its destruction. Perhaps its chief distinction was that the great Ghazālī taught there. It contained some 600,000 books, and while it survived the sack of Baghdad by Hulāgū, a considerable portion of the library was burnt and destroyed.

It is impossible to determine precisely which was the *first* of the numberless *madrasas* of Islam (1); perhaps the question itself is puerile. Almost every mosque was a classroom, and it would be impossible to say where and how for the first time grew this beautiful flower of Islamic culture. Suffice it to say that we hear of *madrasas*

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(1) *INT*, 145.

at Medina, Damascus, Jerusalem, and many of the cities of Persia and Central Asia, such as, Wāsiṭ, Tūstar, Shiraz, Nishapur, Marw, Mashhad, and Bukhārā.

Most of the great names of Islamic learning are connected with mosque or *madrasa*. Imām Mālik taught at Medina; Imām Shāfi'ī and Ṭabarī taught at the mosque of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ at Cairo (1); Ghazālī taught at the Nizāmiyyah of Baghdad as well as the Nizāmiyyah of Nishapur; Shāh Waliyullāh Muḥaddith Dihlawī, the illustrious author of *Ḥujjatu'l-lāh al-Bāligha*, which is often bracketed — and justly — with the *Ihyā'* of Ghazālī, taught in the Raḥīmiyya *madrasa*, now in ruins, behind the Central Jail of New Delhi (2). Everywhere in the Muslim lands we see *madrāsas* growing up near mosques; familiar illustrations in the Delhi of today are the disused *madrāsas* in the Lodi Tombs and at the Ḥawḍ Khāṣṣ; and in the Fatehpuri mosque in the centre of Delhi, there is a true *madrasa* still flourishing and providing instruction in Arabic and the religious sciences.

In order to have an adequate idea of Islamic education and its development, R.A. Nadwi classifies its history into three periods:

- (A) The Prophet and the *Khulāfā-i Rāshidīn*.
- (B) The Umayyads till A.H. 400.
- (C) A.H. 500-800 (3).

We shall now take up each of these periods and make brief observations regarding them. In the first period, the greatest importance was paid to the correct readings of the Koran; and especially in Medina a great number of students would foregather to learn the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet. In regard to *ḥadīth*, Jābir b. 'Abdi'l-lāh was among the earliest teachers to expound *ḥadīth* in

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(1) *EI*, iii, 364.

(2) «Islamic Law and Theology in India», *Middle East Journal*, 1954, page 170.

(3) *INT*, 32 sqq.

the Mosque of the Prophet (1). The special characteristics of the first, or earliest period, may be summarized thus:

1) Knowledge was restricted to the Koran, tradition and law; other sources had not yet grown. 2) There was no book learning. Teaching was oral من فم الى اذن (from mouth to ear). 3) Taking fees for instruction was considered reprehensible. 4) Great love was shown by teachers to pupils. 5) Mosques were the only schools. 6) People travelled widely to collect *ḥadīth*. 7) Travelling for acquiring knowledge was not to be mixed up with other motives; such as trade. It was supposed to be morally wrong to travel for commerce or trade and incidentally to gather knowledge.

In the second period, we have the Caliph 'Omar b. 'Abdi'l-'Azīz who made great efforts to collect the traditions of the Prophet, for he feared that as the companions would die, the most prolific source for *aḥādīth* would be destroyed. He therefore sent many scholars to different quarters to gather the sayings of the Prophet.

The characteristics of this period are: 1) Books were written down, embodying the oral learning; 2) collecting, editing and authorship commenced in right earnest; 3) libraries were established; 4) students and professors received stipends; 5) regular circles (*ḥalqas*) were established in mosques (they were like our modern classes); 6) instruction was continued only in mosques. If there was shortage of space, more mosques were built; 7) professors were exempted even from military service so that they could continue to perform their duty as teachers; 8) the principle of dictation (*imlā'*) was established. Students began to take down the teaching of great teachers; 9) authors wrote and publicly recited their works; 10) the system of *ijāza* (permission to teach, equivalent to a diploma) was established.

We now come to the III period, A.H. 500-800, the period of the greatest efflorescence of Islamic learning. The chief characte-

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(1) *INT*, 34.

ristics were as follows: 1) As the number of teachers and students increased enormously, regular *madrasas*, with rooms for lodging (*zāwiya*, *riwāq*) were built for the first time. Students and teachers began to live together on a large scale. 2) On account of *awqāf*, professors received generous stipends and began to live in comfort. 3) The building of *madrasas* came to be regarded as an act of piety. 4) Teaching was deemed a noble profession, and chieftains, nobles, and even kings were happy to become students. 5) Separate and distinct *madrasas* were built for different sciences. 6) The syllabus *نصاب* was instituted for the first time, although *qirā'a*, *samā'* and *imlā'* were the chief methods of instruction.

Ibn Khaldūn in a well-known passage in his *Muqaddima* says that the civilization of a country or town is to be judged by the number and quality of its *madrasas*; thus, we are told that first of all Medina was called «*Madīnatu'l-'ilm*»; then the title was conferred on Kufa and Basra; and later on Baghdad and Nishapur in the east; and Qayrawan and Cordova in the west (1). In later times, Delhi became a great centre of learning, and Qalqashandī in his *Ṣubḥu'l-A'shā* says that Delhi possessed 1000 *madrasas* (2). This may conceivably be an exaggeration, but it only shows the great reputation this city had in the middle ages as a centre of Islamic learning and culture.

### III. — INDIA : EARLY TIMES.

We must now look more closely into India and see how the *madrasas* originated and grew in this country. The first of known academies was built, as we have seen, by Ma'mūn in Baghdad and given the name *Baytu'l-Ḥikma* in 198-202 (3). But the later *Dāru'l-Ḥikma* built by Ḥākim at Cairo eclipsed it both in the extent of its

(1) *INT*, 38-40, citing Ibn Khaldūn.

(2) *INT*, 43.

(3) *EI*, iii, 352A.

library and its magnificence (1). These were not *madrāsas*, as we understand them, but specialized institutions, and it will be recalled that lectures commenced in the Azhar in 971/362, and probably the earliest of Indian *madrāsas* was the one which Nāṣiru'd-dīn Qabācha built for Mawlānā Quṭbu'd-dīn Kāshānī in Multān (Punjab). It was here that the famous Shaykh Bahā'u'd-dīn Zakariyya Multānī, b. 578 A.H., was educated (2). The date of its actual foundation is not known. As a regular *madrāsa*, R.A. Nadwī is of opinion that the Bayḥaqiyya of Nishapur founded in 384 A.H. was probably the first in point of time (3). The Nizāmiyya of Baghdad was built almost a century later in 457-59 A.H.

The earliest *madrāsa* was hardly more than a moqsue, with an extended wing for students to live in and a library, but later institutions were larger and more elaborate. The *Dāru'l-'ulūm* of Deoband, founded some 90 years ago, is a network of buildings, containing a mosque, a library, lecture-rooms, and extensive living quarters both for students and for teachers.

The *madrāsas* of Islam were not all of the same type and Nadwī has classified them as follows:

1. *Makātib* — in which primary education was given.
2. *Madāris-i 'Āmma* — for teaching religious, and profane sciences and literature.
3. *Madāris-i Koran* — for teaching the Koran only.
4. *Dāru'l-Ḥadīth* — for the study of *ḥadīth* only; such as, the *madrāsa* of Nūru'd-dīn Zangī in Damascus, and of al-Kāmil Nāṣiru'd-dīn in Cairo. The *dāru'l-ḥadīth* of Damascus was the first of its kind in the Muslim world.
5. *Madāris-i fiqh* — these were solely devoted to the study of *fiqh*. Both Maqrīzī in his *Khīṭaṭ* and Suyūṭī in his *Ḥusnu'l-Muḥāḍara*,

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(1) *Ibid.*, 353.

(2) *INT*, 46.

(3) *EI*, iii, 353 B; *INT*, 45.



mention a number of *madāris*, both Ḥanafī and Shāfi‘ī devoted solely to the teaching of the legal science.

6. *Madāris-i Ṭibbiyya* — for teaching the medical sciences, such as those at Salerno, Baghdad and Cairo. In India today there are several *ṭibbiyya* colleges.

7. In spite of regular *madrasas*, the schools attached to mosques remained and flourished and the most renowned of such schools was the Azhar at Cairo.

8. Sometimes a scholar would not teach regularly, but delivered a weekly discourse, and a great number of students, and learned men would gather to hear him. For instance, Khaṭīb Abū Bakr Sajjād would teach in the Jāmi‘ Maṣṣūr on Fridays (1). Before the prayer he would deliver his *fatwās*, and after prayer he would lecture and dictate. A feature of the regular *madrasa* was the *dāru’l-iqāma*, namely, the hostel as we term it in modern colleges. We are all aware of the great importance given in 20th century education to the system whereby students and teachers by living together develop a corporate life and create an intellectual atmosphere. Illustrations of such schools in modern times are the public schools of England, Oxford and Cambridge, and the residential Universities of India such as Aligarh and Benares. It is probable that the modern world has inherited this educational concept from the medieval Christian monasteries and the Islamic *madrasas*. It is therefore of great practical importance to understand the working and the organization of the *dāru’l-iqāma* in Islamic countries (2).

The buildings containing residential quarters were called by different names, such as *zāwiya*, *hānūt*, *ribāt*, *riwāq* (3). Apart from board and lodging medical facilities were also provided as in the *Mustanṣiriyya* of Baghdad, according to ‘Allāma Shiblī Nu‘mānī.

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(1) *INT*, 51-52.

(2) *INT*, 56 sqq.

(3) *INT*, 56 sqq.; *EI*, iii, 350 sqq.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes the magnificence of the “high table” in Tūstar: “I stayed 16 days here, and I was agreeably surprised to find that the food was both expensive and tasty. We had four kinds of dishes every day — chicken, bread, *pilau*, and *qorma* (a dish of meat with gravy), and finally, a sweet” (1).

In India too we have examples of great munificence in providing comfortable living for students and teachers. ‘Ādil Shāh (of Bijāpūr) provided not only bread, but *biryānī* (rice cooked with meat), *muza‘far* (sweet rice with saffron), and for dinner they had *khichrī* (rice with lentil, mixed with plentiful butter). Fīrūz Shāh was also very generous and provided good fare and ample stipends; but the ordinary *madrasas* provided simple fare, just sufficient for the student to lead a scholarly and spiritual life.

On account of their age, professors used to stay on the ground floors, while the students climbed up to the garrets and upper storeys. There were strict rules of etiquette in all such communal living, and prayers were compulsory and regular. Qāḍī Ibn Jumā‘a has laid down detailed rules for residential students (2). Pedersen notes that mourning for teachers was a special feature of residential colleges; when a teacher died three days were devoted to recitations of the Koran near the pillar where he taught and students indulged in other forms of grief. When al-Shirāzī died, his students in the Nizāmiyya sat silent for three days and the *madrasa* was closed for one year. After the death of al-Juwaynī, no lectures were held for one year and the pupils broke their pens and ink-wells (3).

In the early days, the students were free to join any *ḥalqa* they liked. They formed with the teachers a sort of a guild and were known as *aṣḥāba’l-‘imāma* (the turbaned ones) to distinguish them from ordinary folk. This distinction is expressed in English as well,

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(1) *INT*, 57.

(2) *INT*, 62 sqq.

(3) *EI*, iii, 366A.

namely, "town and gown". There were huge classes sometimes, and an-Na"ālī's class occupied 17 pillars, while Isfarā'inī in the *masjid* al-Mubāarak had 3700 pupils (1). Travel was a common practice both in the case of the learned and the neophyte.

As to women students, in the early period they must have been present in fairly large numbers, for Bukhārī mentions that certain hours and days were reserved for them; but for a definite example, we have to go the days of Imām Shāfi'ī, whose *ḥalqa* contained according to the *Husnu'l-Muḥādara* a woman student as well (2).

As regards the method of instruction a great deal of importance was given to dictation and memory work. The Koran was the first object of attention; no one could proceed further until he had "protected it within his breast" *حَفِظَ عَلَى صَدْرِهِ* (3). After committing the Book to memory, the student proceeded to its exegesis, *tafsir*. Avicenna became a master of the Koranic sciences at 10; Shāh Waliyullāh committed the Koran to memory at 7; 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, at 10; probably Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī did the same, for by 20 he had graduated in the religious sciences. It appears that between 10 and 15 the better students, at any rate, had the whole of the Koran by heart.

After the Koran, the student was taught to write and a small book of each subject was taught. Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī has given a detailed account of his studies; he says, first, he copied out and committed to memory a portion of the Koran each day, so that in two or three months he had learnt the book by heart; secondly, he was asked to write each letter of the alphabet separately and he thus gradually learnt the art of calligraphy; third, every science such as *ḥadīth*, *uṣul*, *ṣarf*, *naḥw* was taken up in short abridgements and was committed to memory. And later, other

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(1) *EI*, iii, 366.

(2) *loc. cit.*

(3) *INT*, citing Ibn Jumā'a, 129.

sciences were taken up (1). While in law it was not necessary to learn things by heart, some extraordinary examples of memory work will also be found. Shaykh 'Uthmān Multānī had committed the following to memory:

1) *Hidāya* (*fiqh*); 2) *Pazdawi* (*uṣūl*); 3) *Qūtu'l-Qulūb* of Makki and 4) The *Ihyā'* of Ghazālī (2).

It is impossible to give a full or adequate account of the large number of *madrasas* which were founded in India during the Muslim period, but Abū'l-Ḥasanāt Nadwī has made an attempt in his *Hindōstān kī Qadīm Islāmī Darsgāhen* (Dāru'l-Muṣannifīn, Azamgarh, 1936, 124 pp.). It will be useful to summarize his conclusions here.

Beginning with Ajmer, he says that Shihābu'd-dīn Ghori established many *madrasas* there, and as he conquered Ajmer in A.H. 587, the *madrasas* of that town are among the oldest in India (3).

Next he deals with each town and gives a detailed account of its *madrasas*. In the schedule below, I propose to give the numbers of the famous *madrasas* discussed.

1) Delhi	17	7) Madras and Deccan	12
2) Punjab	4	8) Malwa	7
3) Agra	15	9) Multan	3
4) Oudh	17	10) Kashmir	5
5) Bihar	6	11) Gujrat	8
6) Bengal	12	12) Surat	4
			Total: <u>107</u>

It should be remembered that these were the most famous of the *madrasas*, and the number of smaller ones was legion. It is clear that a complete census of the *madrasas* is an impossibility, for, beginning with the village-mosque where a few students foregathered to

(1) *INT*, 132, 144-45.

(2) *INT*, 134.

(3) *HQD*, 16-17.

learn the Koran for small fees, we have the magnificent *Dāru'l-'Ulūm* of Deoband containing about a thousand students; and just as a complete census of mosques is difficult, so also an exhaustive enumeration of the *madrasas* is not possible from the historical evidence before us.

I shall now mention a few of the most famous *madrasas* in India.

In Delhi, the capital of India, we have the *Nāṣiriyya* established by Sulṭāna Raḍiyya in memory of her brother Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd b. Sulṭān Shamsu'd-dīn Iltumish in 635 A.H./1237 A.D. The *madrasa* of Ḥawḍ Khāṣṣ was built in 692/1293. The *madrasa* of Fīrūzshāh was one of those over which Ziā'ud-dīn Barnī waxes eloquent; it was built in 753/1352.

The foster-sister of Akbar the Great, built the *madrasa* known as *Khayru'l-Manāzil* (near Purāna Qila) in 969/1562; and finally the *madrasa-i Raḥimiyya* was built during the reign of Aurangzeb. The name derives from Shāh 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, the father of Shāh Waliyullāh and one of the authors of the *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīri* (also known as the *Hindiye*, to Ḥanafī jurists) (1). It produced in succession such great masters of *ḥadīth* and law as Shāh Waliyullāh, Qāḍī Thanā'ullāh, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Shāh Ismā'il, Shāh Ishāq, Shāh 'Abdu'l-Qāḍir and others.

Lucknow has the distinction of having one of the most renowned of *madrasas* in the sub-continent of India, the *Firangī-Maḥall*. It was here that the great Mullā Niẓāmu'd-dīn, originator of the syllabus known as *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, taught since the age of 17 and became the most celebrated of the *ulema* of his day (2).

A number of *madrasas* were established by women; one of them, established by Bībī Rāja Bēgum in 856/1452 at Jaunpur, flourished and became a well-known school of learning.

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(1) *HQD*, 25. The Emperor Aurangzeb himself supervised the composition of this great *corpus* of law, *GILĀNĪ*, I, 45-6.

(2) Details in *Middle East Journal*, 1954, 168-9.

In the Deccan, the *madrasa* established by Maḥmūd Gāwān of Bīdar, the Minister of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī, was not only a famous seat of learning but also a magnificent specimen of Deccan architecture (1).

It will thus be seen that the Muslim emperors and noblemen were great patrons of the religious sciences, and dotted the country with *madrasas* and libraries. A.H. Nadwi gives a detailed account of the *niṣāb* and its evolution, and I have given details of the final stage of the *Dars-i Niṣāmī* in my paper on "Muslim Law and Theology" (2)

At this stage it may be of general interest to speak of some of the greatest names in Islamic learning in India. One of the famous families of learned men in India was that of Mīr Zāhid, a *savant* of the days of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. Among his descendants were Shaykh Mubārak and Shāh Waliyullāh, among whose descendants we have such masters of the *sharī'a* as Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Shāh Rafī'u'd-dīn, Shāh 'Abdu'l-Qādir, Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy, Shāh Md. Ismā'il, Mawlawī Md. Ishāq, Mawlawī Rashīdu'd-dīn and Muftī Ṣadru'd-dīn (3).

In Gujarat, probably the greatest name is that of Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir Fatānī (of Pattan), the author of the *ḥadīth* lexicon, *Majma' Bihāru'l-Anwār* (four volumes). Another great name in Gujarat is Mullā Jīwan, who, together with Mullā Niṣāmu'd-dīn in Lucknow and Shāh Waliyullāh in Delhi, was a star of the first magnitude both in personal qualities and profundity of learning (4).

#### IV. — INDIA : MODERN TIMES

We now come to our own times and find that the modern schools may be divided into the following four classes: (A) Pure

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(1) *HQD*, 60.

(2) *Mid. East Journal*, 1954, 169.

(3) *HQD*, 86.

(4) *HQD*, 87-89.

secular learning — Aligarh Muslim University; (B) Pure religious learning — *Dāru'l-'Ulūm*, Deoband; (C) Religious school, with secular training — *Nadwatul-'ulamā'*, Lucknow; (D) Secular school, with religious and moral bias — *Jāmi'a Milliyya Islāmiyya*, Delhi(1).

It is impossible within the limits prescribed for a paper to give a comprehensive account of all these schools; but I shall try to give some facts about Deoband, after making brief observations on the other three. The Aligarh University is a full-fledged modern University, aided by the state having the Faculties of Arts, History, Law, Science, Medicine and Engineering. Its seed was planted in the 19th century when Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān started it as a school and college for Muslims. Later it became a University; and now it is entirely state-aided, possessing a large number of non-Muslim students. In fact at present there is no restriction on admission, and a considerable proportion of the students is non-Muslim.

The Jamia Millia is an institution of higher learning in Delhi. It was founded in 1922 and represents the desire of Muslims in particular and Indian people in general for an independent academic and intellectual outlook. Among the founders of the Jamia Millia were Shaykh Maḥmūdul-Ḥasan of Deoband, the leading Muslim scholar and divine of his day, Maulana Abul Kalām Azad, the present Education Minister in the Union Government, and Mahatma Gandhi. The ideals before Shaykh Maḥmūdul-Ḥasan were the universities of Cairo, Baghdad and Cordova. Mahatma Gandhi was more realistic. He desired to have an institution which would be truly Islamic in character but would have courses of studies that would meet national requirements and a flexibility in its methods that would make it responsive to all national needs. It is along Mahatma Gandhi's ideas that the Jamia Millia has grown. For a

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(1) GILĀNĪ, I, 2(b).

large number of Muslims it represents the most practical combination of religious and secular education; for non-Muslims, whether students or out-side observers interested in national education, it represents an outlook which is as tolerant and national as the outlook of every institution of genuine education ought to be.

The Jamia Millia, as a national anti-government institution, did not get any grant from the British Government, and for the first 28 years of its life relied entirely on public support. In 1928, when conditions became particularly difficult owing to the death of Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Chancellor, the teachers of the Jamia Millia constituted themselves into a Society and took a pledge of 20 years service on any conditions. The ordeals through which the institution had to pass made the exercise of initiative and resourcefulness essential and the Jamia Millia has grown according to a plan in which Primary, Secondary and University education, Teachers Training, Social education, publication and research are closely integrated. In all these fields the Jamia Millia has made substantial contributions to the progress of education in India. Even now, when India has become a secular State, the Jamia Millia still retains the old spirit. In principle, religious education still forms the central point and the acquisition of knowledge is still considered a duty essentially religious in character. Because of its tolerance, its active participation in national development, its willingness to serve all communities equally, the Jamia Millia enjoys the support of Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

The *Nadwa* (Lucknow) was started at the instance of 'Allāma Shiblī Nu'mānī as a religious school, teaching not only English, but also certain non-religious subjects. After the death of Shiblī and with the creation of Pakistan, the *Nadwa* leads a languishing existence, and it is difficult to say for certain what its future will be.

We now come to the *Dāru'l-'Ulūm*, Deoband, and I propose to speak of it at some length, specially as we have a good account of its foundation and history by Sayyid Maḥbūb Riḍawī, *Tārīkh-i Deoband*



(Urdu, printed in Delhi, and published by the Historical Section, *Dāru'l-'Ulūm*, Deoband, 180 pp., 1952/1372).

Deoband is an ancient habitation, said to be some 1000 years old. It is a small town near Sahāranpūr, 91 miles north of Delhi. As the older religious *madrāsas* fell upon evil days and began to die or became defunct, the *Dāru'l-'Ulūm* was founded by certain energetic *ulema* in 1867/1283. Hunter, in his sympathetic volume on the *Indian Muslims* (reprinted, Calcutta, 1945), shows that the Islamic tradition of learning was gradually destroyed by the Britishers by their policy of confiscating a large number of *wakfs* (1).

On the 30th May, 1867, the founder Muḥammad Qāsim Nānōtwī, aided by al-Ḥājj 'Ābid Ḥusayn, Mawlānā Dhū'l-Faqār 'Alī (pron. *fiqār* in India) and Mawlānā Faḍlu'r-Raḥmān started this famous seminary. To begin with there was one teacher, Mullā Maḥmūd and one pupil, the illustrious Mawlānā Maḥmūdū'l-Ḥasan, later known as "Shaykhu'l-Hind". A man of extraordinary learning, he was later known both in the field of education and in politics. His knowledge of *ḥadīth* was unrivalled in his day, and he translated the Koran both into Urdu and Persian; he has also several works in Arabic, Persian and Urdu to his credit.

In the first year, there were 68 students (2). A remarkable feature of the institution is that there are no Government grants or *awqāf*, or secular endowments for its maintenance. They believe in *الفقر فخری* and never agree to permanent grants or foundations. They agree however to receive *ad hoc* grants, or individual donations, such as Rs. 50,000 from the Government of Afghanistan and some gifts from the Nizam of Hyderabad, and a collection of books from Saudi Arabia.

Prior to 1947, the average number of students was 1200-1500 residing in 210 rooms. At present there are some 800 students and

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(1) *Tar. Deo.*, 72.

(2) *Ibid.*, 75.

41 teachers. The average income per year is Rs. 2,50,000/- (about £ 20,000 sterling); the average student costs Rs. 100/- (£ 7) per annum. This sum includes, food, education, lodging, clothes, and light! Students come from all parts of the world, such as, North Africa, Malaya, Eastern Turkistan, Iran, Khutan, Badakhshan, Farghana, Afghanistan, Makran, Waziristan and Ceylon (1). The professors live very simply, the average salary is Rs.50-75 per month (4-6 pounds sterling). This works out to 50-75 pounds a year! These salaries compare very favourably with the amounts spent by religious seminaries all over the world.

The important adjuncts are a mosque, a *dāru'l-iqāma* (hostel), a library and a *dāru'l-iftā'*. The last is a thing of great interest to lawyers. The total number of *fatwās* preserved in the archives numbered 1,47,851 in 1952, and I was told that they fill some 80 volumes, 9 of which have so far been printed and published (2). These *fatāwā* constitute probably the most valuable single source for the study of Ḥanafī law in India, and the manner in which Muslim society has reacted to it in its application.

Among the *ulema* internationally known, and produced by this great school of Islamic learning are Mawlānā Md. Ya'qūb, died 1886; Shaykhu'l-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūdu'l-Ḥasan, who took a great part in the freedom movement, died 1921; Mawlānā Anwar Shāh Kashmīrī, about whom Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā said *ما رأيتُ مثلَ هذا الأستاذِ الجليلِ* died, 1934; and the present, Mawlānā Ḥasayn Aḥmad Madanī, who has travelled widely in Muslim countries as a pillar of learning and piety, and has taught *ḥadīth* for 10 years in the *Masjid-i Nabawī* at Medina (3).

Such in brief is the account of what we Indians proudly term "the Azhar of the East".

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(1) *Ibid.*, 90.

(2) *Ibid.*, 131-2.

(3) *Ibid.*, 150.

The last portion of our study deals with the Arabic *madrāsas* of our day, and the Universities in India which encourage the study of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. A census made by the Ministry of Education Government of India, discloses that there are 333 Arabic *madrāsas* in India. This figure is somewhat of a misnomer; not all of these teach Arabic regularly but include in them primary schools teaching Muslim boys to read the Koran without understanding it, and to read and write Urdu and perhaps, Persian. It is impossible to give absolutely accurate figures, but I think that there are in all about 75 *madrāsas*, big and small, which teach Arabic in the traditional style and the rest of them only teach boys to read and write the Koran without understanding the Arabic language.

There are 31 Universities established by law in India, some of which are residential and others are not, and these are called the "Affiliating Universities". This means that these Universities themselves perform no teaching function, but there are constituent colleges which make provision for teaching students for University degrees. To take familiar examples, the Universities of Aligarh and Banaras are teaching Universities; practically all the students reside within the precincts of the University; there are no separate colleges. The University is divided into faculties and departments. These faculties are headed by Deans and the departments are headed by Professors. There is one single unitary system of instruction and no separate colleges.

On the other hand, Bombay and Calcutta have, first of all, the different constituent colleges, such as Elphinstone College in Bombay, and Presidency College in Calcutta. These colleges are entirely independent of the Universities. They give instruction to students of all faculties and have on their rolls something like two to three thousand students. These colleges are called "Affiliated Colleges". Therefore, the parent bodies are not residential Universities but are known as "Affiliating Universities".

The study of Arabic, Persian and Urdu is fairly common in our

Universities, but of late the number of students is going down, because a large proportion of students are going up for technical, economic, agricultural, engineering and medical studies. The following figures show the number of professors and lecturers in each subject:

Arabic	—	—	Professors and Readers	16	
			Lecturers	46	62
Persian	—	—	Professors and Readers	31	
			Lecturers	108	139
Urdu	—	—	Professors and Readers	27	
			Lecturers	110 (1)	137
			Total		<u>338</u>

It would be invidious to make any special mention of professors who have an international reputation, but it may safely be said that in Arabic studies Professor 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Maimanī holds a very special position. He has written many books in Arabic and edited several *Dīwāns*, and is credited with a prodigious memory; and in *adab* especially, it may be said that he has few equals even in the Arab world. There is no outstanding personality in Persian studies, but a number of younger scholars are doing substantial work in history and poetry.

In considering critically the contribution of the Muslims of India to Arabic literature, it cannot be denied that Muḥibbu'l-lāh Bihārī (died, 1119/1707), 'Abdu'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (died, 1725), Shāh Waliyullāh (died, 1176/1762), Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (died, 1200/1785) and Sayyid Muṭṭadā Zubaydī (died, 1205/1790) are scholars about whom any country would be proud. Muḥibbu'l-lāh wrote a very famous textbook on *uṣūl* which is still read and greatly appreciated in Indian theological schools, *Musallamu'th-Thubūt*. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād has to his credit seven *Dīwāns* in Arabic poetry and is called *حسان الهند*. Shāh Waliyullāh may justly be termed

(1) See Appendix 'B', for details.

an *imām* and *mujtahid* and his *حجة الله البالغة* is one of the major works in Islamic theology; 'Abdu'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī wrote verses in four languages — Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi, and finally Sayyid Murtaḍā Zubaydī wrote the famous commentary on the *Qāmūs*, called *Tāju'l-'Arūs*. A useful work recently published is *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature* by Dr. Zubaid Aḥmad (Jullundur, 1946). This book gives in brief outline an account of the most important works written by Indians in Arabic. It is obvious that the Indian contribution to Arabic literature cannot be compared with that of Persia, but next to Persia and Egypt, the Indians have made notable contributions to Arabic literature in many branches of Islamic learning (1).

The history of Persian literature as cultivated in India, has not yet been written with the care it deserves; it is far greater in extent than its Arabic counterpart. But the historical work of Firishta and Badāyūnī; the administrative treatises of Abū'l-Faḍl; the poetry of Amīr Khusraw, 'Urfī and Fayḍī (2) are great literary monuments, a scientific and critical appraisal of which has yet to be made.

When foreign nations cultivate a language, it is naturally difficult but not impossible for them to write it with the same simplicity, excellence and fluency as the natives themselves. In the case of India it is extremely desirable that Arab scholars should take up the critical and objective examination of the Arabic literature produced in India; that Persian critics should take up objectively the appraisal of our Persian literature; and that scholars, whether European Orientalists, Turks, Arabs, Persians, and in fact, all those interested in Islamic culture in general, should take up the study of Urdu literature and particularly its beautiful poetry, which embodies the exquisite grace and subtlety of the Indian mind, and

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(1) Gilānī, ii, 304-5.

(2) On Fayḍī's *tafsīr sawāti'u'l-ilhām*, which was composed in letters without dots, see Gilānī, ii, 284 sqq.

gives the poignant history of the frustration of the Muslims of India after the British had successfully terminated their rule and established their own sovereignty.

And, I would ask finally, is it not a unique literary feat for the nationals of one country, India, to make notable contributions to the literature of two great Eastern languages, Arabic and Persian, in addition to their own Urdu and Hindi?

*April, 1955. New Delhi.*

Asaf A. A. FYZEE

## APPENDIX A

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

1. *EI. Encyclopaedia of Islām*, edited M. Th. Houtsma and others. Eng. ed., Leiden-London, 1913-34.  
(The article on “*Masdjid*” by J. Pedersen in Vol. III, pp. 315 sqq., contains valuable material for this subject. See especially, “The Mosque as an Educational Centre”, 350 sqq.).
2. N.N. LAW, *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Times*. Longmans, 1916. (Somewhat pretentious and sketchy. Contains many mistakes (pp. 15, 37, etc.) due to lack of adequate knowledge of Arabic and Persian. It was an early effort, and a thorough re-examination of the subject is imperative.
3. F.E. KEAY, *Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times*. Oxford University Press, Second Edition, 1942.  
(Though short, it is useful, see especially, Chapter VII, pp. 110 sqq.).
4. HQD. ABŪ’L-HASANĀT NADWĪ, *Hindōstān kī qadīm islāmī dars-gāhēn*. Dāru’l-Muṣannifīn, A’zamgadh, 1355/1936.  
(An account of old *madrasas*, and discussion of the evolution of the *niṣāb* (curriculum). Based on original sources).
5. INT. RIYĀSAT ‘ALĪ NADWĪ, *Islāmī Nizām-i Ta’lim*. Dāru’l-Muṣannifīn series, Vol. 56. Azamgadh, 1357/1938.  
(Admirable account of first principles of Islamic education. Based on Qāḍī Ibn Jumā’a’s *Tadhkiratu’s-sāmi*’. Deals with objects of study, manners of students, *madrasas* and hostels, duties

of teachers, *ḥalqas* (classes), methods of teaching, defects of curricula. This is an excellent work and was useful for the subject of my paper).

6. MANĀZIR AḤSAN GĪLĀNĪ, *Hindōstān men Musalmānōn kā Nizām-i Ta'lim-o-Tarbiyat*. Nadwatu'l-Muṣannifīn series, Vols. 21 and 23. Volume I, Delhi, 1363/1944. Volume II, Hyderabad, not dated. The last page contains a note that the author completed the correction of the final draft of the second volume on 4 January 1943 at his home in Gīlān, Bihar.

A book containing a mine of valuable information. No index; badly arranged; difficult to consult. The material is so valuable that if put together in a systematic form, it would constitute by far the most useful contribution to the subject.



## APPENDIX B

LIST OF PROFESSORS, READERS AND LECTURERS IN ARABIC, PERSIAN  
AND URDU AT THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES AS AT MARCH, 1955

NAME OF THE UNIVERSITY	ARABIC			PERSIAN			URDU		
	Profes- sors	Readers	Lectu- rers	Profes- sors	Readers	Lectu- rers	Profes- sors	Readers	Lectu- rers
Agra	—	—	1	5	—	6	9	—	5
Aligarh	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	1	6
Allahabad	1	—	3	—	1	3	1	1	5
Andhra	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—
Annamalai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Banaras	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
Baroda	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	1
Bihar	—	—	7	—	—	16	1	—	19
Bombay	—	—	5	1	—	14	—	—	11
Calcutta	1	—	3	—	—	2	—	—	—
Delhi	—	1	—	—	2	5	—	1	8
Gujarat	2	—	—	4	—	8	—	—	1
Karnatak	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	2
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	3	1	2	4	—	1	4
Lucknow	—	1	2	—	1	—	—	1	4
Madras	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Mysore	—	—	1	1	—	10	—	1	9
Nagpur	—	—	3	—	—	2	—	—	3
Osmania	1	1	7	1	2	6	—	1	7
Patna	—	1	2	1	2	2	—	3	6
Poona	2	—	—	4	—	—	4	—	—
Punjab	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	14
Saugar	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	1
Travancore	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Utkal	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2
Visva Bharati	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	—

Total :	ARABIC	Professors and Readers	16
		Lecturers	46
	PERSIAN	Professors and Readers	31
		Lecturers	108
	URDU	Professors and Readers	27
		Lecturers	110

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